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Social Progress

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Politics in This Election Year

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

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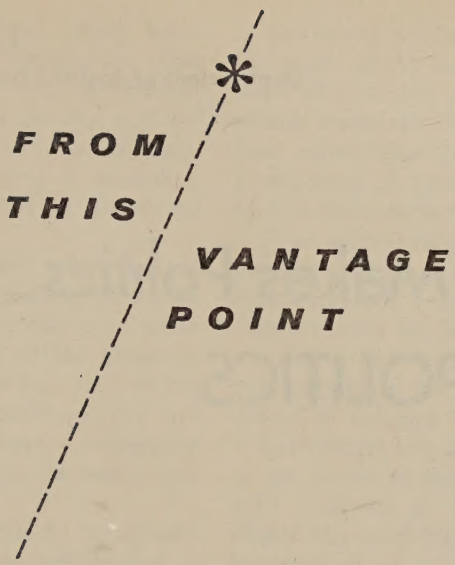

THE WORD THAT BEST CHARACTERIZES OUR ERA IS, according to C. Wright Mills, "political." That is, today more than ever before in history, policy decisions or the default of policy-making will determine how millions of human beings will live or die. "Politics" is the struggle to gain control of those centers of power where policy decisions are made.

This year of 1960 is also the year in which the highest office in the United States, perhaps in the world, will be sought by candidates from the two major political parties. One of these candidates may be a Roman Catholic. Probably at least one vice-presidential candidate will be a Roman Catholic.

The Editors of SOCIAL PROGRESS believe that the political arena is, as is every other area of God's creation, the scene of God's judging and redeeming activity. It is therefore a legitimate and necessary focus of the concern of the church.

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS is an effort to think responsibly about the political processes of a democracy. Pages 7–21 consist of a symposium addressed to the question: In the event that a qualified candidate who is a Roman Catholic is elected to the presidency, what effect do you think his religion would have on the conduct of that office? The contributions represent divergent points of view. We hope these articles will help our readers to think carefully and sensibly about a question that has elicited a great deal of prejudicial comment.

—The SEA Staff

By H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
Department of Social Education and Action

What Makes Politics POLITICS

A TOOTHACHE seems, at the time, much more real, important, and urgent to its victim than do a million children dying of hunger in India.

The building of a factory excites more intense feelings in those persons who live adjacent to it than in those who live across town.

A minor change in routine and schedule affecting only the children in the fifth grade will arouse greater interest and concern in those parents who have children in the fifth grade than will a school-bond issue affecting the salaries of all teachers and the general quality of a school district's curriculum and facilities.

What is done about the million starving children *does* affect the person with the toothache; the new factory *does* affect those who live some distance from it; and the school-bond issue *does* affect the parents of children in the fifth grade—more deeply and permanently, though less immediately and directly, than the pressing and visible objects of their concern.

A citizen who, by his own admission, had never bothered to register and vote became actively interested in politics because his councilman was responsible for relocating a street light diagonally across the street from that man's house. He was so incensed that he determined then and there to vote *against* his local representative at the next election.

Political life in a democracy tends to reflect and express the *perceived* self-interest of groupings of people seeking to protect or enhance that self-interest. Interests may be economic—salary, size and location of house, amount of vacation—or they may be less tangible concerns of ego-defense like prestige in the community, authority over others, a sense of security and belonging.

These observations imply more than the simple recognition that one's background and self-interest affect his political loyalty and behavior. They affect his moral judgments and the criteria or standards by which he *arrives* at his moral judgments.

As Rauschenbusch once pointed out, it was not by chance that in the old West, where the raising of cattle was the backbone of the economy and a man's horse was vital to his making a living, cattle rustlers and horse thieves were summarily hanged, while homicide was a less serious crime.

Nor is it difficult to appreciate (if one's immediate self-interest is not at stake) why right-to-work laws are seen as "wrong" by many union members and "right" by many employers. Or why many persons with high incomes regard the graduated income tax as "unjust" while others with low incomes (and many exemptions) regard it as "just." Or why the voters of an agricultural state keep sending back to the legislature a man who votes "right" on agricultural policy but "wrong" on everything else from civil rights to foreign policy.

This does not necessarily mean that there is no objective "truth" or "good" or "right" in any political issue. It means, however, that the moral judgments of any group with a vested interest in the outcome of the issue are probably not to be trusted as the embodiment of moral truth. It certainly means that no man, or group of men, is to be trusted with *unchecked* power to impose his version of the truth on his fellow men.

Domestic politics can be said to be the effort to gain and keep control of those positions from which emanate policy decisions that affect the interests of the groupings of people in the national, state, or local community.

Some individuals and groups have power by virtue of their position or their economic resources. To them their interests are just (as are those of other groups to *them*). They do not hesitate to use their power to defend or enhance those issues.

Individuals and groups with little or no power at their disposal and with interests at stake have the choice of organizing to defend their interests, or of seeing them ridden over by the powerful.

When these organized interests express their desires and use their power through the political channels available in a two-party system, the result is the complex but delicate fabric of the American democratic system. (It may be helpful to suggest a distinction between our system of *government*, which may properly be called "republican" or representative, and our political *processes* of accommodating conflicting interests, properly called "democratic.")

Because, ultimately, political power resides in the voters, it is impossible under our present political arrangement for any interest to gain dominant power and exercise it irresponsibly indefinitely. The wheels of democracy grind slowly and ponderously, but they do grind out change as long as the citizens exercise their political rights and responsibilities.

There is a danger inherent in such a system, however. It is rooted in the fact that probably 80 per cent of the

day-to-day tasks of politicians in and out of public office is dull, routine, and uninspiring. Only persons with some admixture of a real sense of vocation on the one hand, and a selfish desire for personal aggrandizement on the other, have the patience, persistence, and dedication to expend the time, energy, and "heart" to stick at it.

This requirement of dedication and/or lust for power quickly "separates the men from the boys," the professionals from the amateurs. It characteristically means that the great mass of citizens are often content to leave the management of their political affairs to the professionals until some scandal or well-planned "crusade" coalesces a massive reaction to those in power. Then the voters flock to the polls to "throw the rascals out."

However, there are signs in many segments of our common life that the political sophistication of the American people is improving. The state of affairs indicated above, while probably still accurate enough to be called "characteristic," is being somewhat modified by a rising interest in politics among businessmen, in farm groups, certainly in the labor unions, perhaps in the church.

It is undoubtedly unrealistic to expect groups with vested economic and political interests in public issues to "swear to their own hurt." Perhaps it is too much to expect of church groups that they look at controversial issues through "the spectacles of faith" rather than through the "knothole" of their own institutional or proprietary interests.

"But in the church's own teaching there is solid ground for quite another frame of mind. . . . If we begin [with an understanding of man's sinful nature], man's willful turning toward himself, then the idealist's picture of society fades away. In the place of the stable, harmonious, 'normal' world in which men's interests fit together, reason and conscience can prevail, and war and political struggle are just occasional unfortunate aberrations caused by a few bad people, there appears quite another world: a world in which all men are struggling for self-justification, through power, or wealth, or prestige, or moral and spiritual pride—a world in which the struggle for power is endless.

"The desires to protect oneself, one's family, one's status, one's economic group, region, and nation are, of course, not evil in themselves. Quite the contrary; they are real obligations. They become destructive, however, very quickly—more quickly than we ordinarily admit.

"It is important to see both parts of this duality. Often what happens is that when a simple optimism about the ability of reason and good will to prevail is destroyed, a simple pessimism takes its place.

"But faith stands . . . as much against cynicism as against idealistic illusions. The Christian can never picture politics as simply a brute conflict of raw interests. As there is always a measure of sin still to be overcome in every position, so there is always a higher possibility for reason and conscience in every situation." (From *The Protestant and Politics*, by William Lee Miller, pp. 67 ff. Copyright, 1958, by W. L. Jenkins. The Westminster Press. Used by permission.)

"In the event that a Roman Catholic . . ."

The presidential primaries have raised the issue of religious bigotry among Protestants *and* Catholics. The six articles of this symposium probe the question of Catholicism and the presidency with intelligence and frankness.

A DEFINITE NO

By Murray S. Stedman, Jr.
Director, Presbyterian Office of Information

LET US AT THE BEGINNING set to one side the basic question which is currently nagging at the hearts of many Protestants. I think it is this: Would the election of a Roman Catholic to the presidency tend to strengthen Catholicism? The answer is, yes it would, to the same extent that the election of a Presbyterian to the presidency strengthens the prestige of Presbyterianism. But the election of a Roman Catholic would no more solve the problems of the Roman Catholic hierarchy than the election of a Presbyterian has solved the problems of the Presbyterian General Assembly.

This aside, we can tackle the specific question: *Would the religious affiliation of a qualified Roman Catholic President influence his conduct in office?* I believe that the answer is a definite no. I further feel that people who tend toward the alarmist view seriously misunderstand some of the basic elements of the American political process. They also tend, by bringing in irrelevant foreign examples, to underrate the uniqueness of the American political experiment.

The Nature of the Presidency

The creation of the modern presidency is one of the greatest political achievements of the American people. This achievement has taken place over the last 170 years on the basis of trial and error, not of doctrinaire conviction or sterile ideology. With some ups and downs, a graphing of presidential authority over the decades would show that it has increased steadily. The American people look to the President for their leadership. He is the great rallying point in any crisis. He symbolizes the national interest. He is expected to represent this national interest.

Because this is his expected role, he must in most matters act or ap-

pear to act in a nonpartisan way. He really has no choice, since he can be sure that he will be opposed and supported in Congress both by members of his own party and by members of the opposition party. In addition, as in recent years, the opposition party may control the Congress, which only strengthens the need for a nonpartisan approach.

What personal characteristics should he have? Judging by the Presidents who have been lionized by the historians, both the historians and the American people have stressed executive leadership and personal integrity. To determine whether a candidate shows promise of intelligent leadership it is customary to examine his record. To determine his personal integrity, a similar inquiry is in order. It is, of course, an asset for a candidate to be known as a family man who holds to the religious convictions of his faith.

Catholicism and Americanism

We do not have space to debate whether Catholicism and Americanism are compatible. Whatever the merits of the question, it has become a trifle academic. A large share of the American electorate has decided that Catholicism per se does not disqualify a person from seeking or holding high office. This is demonstrated by the election of numerous Catholics to state-wide office and to Congress in states where there are substantial Protestant majorities. An increasing percentage of the electorate believe that individual Catholics make and have made as good public servants as individual Protestants or Jews.

The Nature of the Party System

The over-all effect of the two-party system in both national and state elections, is to produce moderate, nonideological candidates and majorities. There cannot be too great a divergence between a candidate and the moderate majority or he will not be elected. From this it follows that a candidate in a two-party system does not need to appease every extreme element represented in his party or in the general electorate. On the contrary, he is in a very good position to balance one interest against another. In terms of the presidency and religion, this means that a President must try his level best to be nice to all significant religious groups, not just to one at the exclusion of the others.

It is the two-party system used in presidential elections which brings about this happy result. In one-party states, and even more in one-party units of local government, moderation in viewpoint and tolerance of minorities may at times be severely curtailed. There may even be fla-

grant interference by the clergy of the dominant religious persuasion in local politics. But this sort of thing cannot conceivably happen under the rules of the game which control both the election of a President and also the operation of the presidency.

Religious Influences on Politics

There is another failure in understanding which needs to be clarified. We can best get at it by distinguishing between religious concerns over political action and the legislative or administrative result. Religious interests are by no means the best organized and most effective of American interest groups. This is especially true on the national, i.e., the presidential and Congressional level. Of far more importance are the roles played by business, labor, veterans, farm, and professional organizations. What I am saying is that many a concerned churchman, wrapped up in church affairs, and concerned over party politics in one-party cities, tremendously exaggerates the political importance of any religious group on a national basis. A presidential incumbent is far more likely to be concerned with the views of the great national groups and interests organized along economic lines than he is with the views of religious leaders.

"In the event that a Roman Catholic . . ."

May a Catholic President Sign...?

By John R. Connery, S.J., in "America," December 12, 1959. Used by permission.

While Father Connery's statement is not addressed specifically to the question raised for this symposium, we felt it was so apropos as to merit being included.

If anyone was under the illusion that the religious thinking of this country had become sufficiently mature to accept the prospect of a Catholic President with equanimity, he must be sorely disappointed by this time. It should be quite obvious to even the most casual observer that the Catholic candidate for presidential nomination has been singled out and continually harassed by representatives of various Protestant sects, suspicious of the political orthodoxy of any Catholic candidate. These same examiners have shown an equally obvious unconcern for the religious affiliation or beliefs of other candidates. It would be interesting to poll the country to find out how many people could even identify the religion of the other candidates. All of this adds up to the conclusion that a Catholic candidate for President still presents a problem that is unique to his non-Catholic brethren.

It can be said with certainty that it would be wrong for a Catholic President to initiate a birth control program. But it is not so easy to determine what his moral obligation would be if he were called upon to co-operate with a birth control program initiated by others. One cannot categorically either condemn or condone such co-operation. For instance, if a Catholic President were presented with a bill sponsoring a birth control program, I do not think that the veto would in all circumstances be his only alternative. It would clearly be wrong for him to approve the program, and I am inclined to think (although I am still open to conviction on this point) that signing the bill would be tantamount to such approval.

However, the Constitution itself seems to offer a third alternative, a way in which the President can dissociate himself from a bill without vetoing it. A passage in Article I, Section 7, reads as follows: "If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it. . . ."

This clause seems to give the President an alternative analogous to that of a legislator who chooses to abstain from voting. Whether a Catholic President, or for that matter, any President, could legitimately have recourse to such a procedure would depend upon the circumstances of the concrete situation. If one can conclude from recent statements made by some of the other presidential hopefuls, the Catholic candidate is not alone in his opposition to a birth control program.

Ultimately, the American public must face the fact that it runs some risk in electing any conscientious man to the Presidency. Since the Constitution gives the President the power of veto, our nation's Founding Fathers evidently expected him to exercise personal decision when confronted with legislation. He is not expected to be a rubber stamp. Moreover, any conscientious man can conceivably be faced with a moral or religious problem in signing this or that piece of legislation. A Methodist could be faced with a dilemma in deciding whether to sign a bill that would provide smoking or drinking facilities, e.g., for the Armed Forces; a Christian Scientist, in a public health program; a Quaker, in a defense budget; and any conscientious President would recoil from a public program of abortion to relieve overpopulation.

The conscience problem, then, is not peculiar to the Catholic. As a matter of fact, although one can conjure up countless imaginary conflicts, there is no evidence to show that in reality the Catholic President would be faced with religious problems any more frequently than other candidates. Catholics have for many decades now occupied the chair of mayor in many of our cities, and even the office of governor, and by and large they have given satisfaction at least comparable to that given by officeholders of other religious affiliations. There is no reason to believe that this experience cannot be repeated in the event that a member of the Roman Catholic faith is elected to the presidency.

WE FEEL UNEASY

By Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., and G. Bromley Oxnam, Presiding Bishop, The Methodist Church, Washington Area

How do you feel about a Catholic candidate for President?

Uneasy. This uneasiness arises from a feeling, widespread among American Protestants, that the election of a Roman Catholic to the presidency would both symbolize and strengthen the growing and direct political influence that the Roman Catholic Church exerts on our government and our society.

It seems clear to us that at every level, from school boards to Congress, the Roman Catholic Church today uses its influence to block legislation that is contrary to its desires, and to stimulate action that it wants. The candidacy of a Roman Catholic, or his occupancy of the White House, cannot help increasing the concern of Protestants about the role his church will play in a great many matters of crucial importance to Americans.

Do you think a Catholic President would use his office to promote a new Roman Catholic relationship between church and state?

Probably not. The first Roman Catholic President of the United States would probably lean over backward to follow the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

What is it, then, that worries you about a Catholic in the White House?

We worry about how a Catholic President could square his political duties with the "official" position of the church to which he owes allegiance, on questions that range from the use of public funds for parochial schools, or the rights of Americans to birth control information, to such

Excerpts from the May 10, 1960, *Look* magazine article, "A Protestant View of a Catholic for President." Copyright 1960 by Cowles Magazines, Inc. Used by permission.

larger political issues as the separation of church and state and the conduct of foreign affairs.

Consider one simple problem. A Protestant President is perfectly free to participate in the religious services of any other faith. He can cooperate in the many interfaith activities that have been built so carefully over the years. But a Catholic is expressly forbidden to participate in any Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, or Jewish religious service, according to Canon 1258.

Even if permission were freely granted to a Catholic President by a Catholic bishop, Protestants can hardly be expected to relish the picture of a President of the United States under the authority of any other person with respect to his duties as President.

Don't you think that the Roman Catholic Church in the United States supports the doctrine of the separation of church and state?

No. Certainly not consistently. We say this despite the undoubted sincerity of Father O'Brien and many other American Catholics who claim that the traditional and "official" Roman Catholic view does *not* represent the Roman Catholic position in the United States.

A recent report by Dr. A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz, a staff member of the World Council of Churches, urges us not to assume that "official" Roman Catholic policy on the question of church-state separation is necessarily frozen to the position laid down by Pope Pius IX. It is neither wise nor fair for Protestants to charge that expediency alone is the motive of American Catholics who like and support our country's traditional separation of church and state.

But is it not fair to ask American Catholics to examine the "official" doctrine of their church on this crucial question? Is it not fair to ask them to consider how that doctrine really works out—in such countries as Spain and Colombia, say, where Protestants are harassed and persecuted—before they cry "bigotry" whenever a Protestant, who genuinely fears the domination of any state by any church, raises these questions?

Suppose one of the major parties should nominate a Roman Catholic for President. Would you consider voting for him?

Yes. Our votes are not dictated by our religious principles, or by our church. We do not believe that any American's vote should be.

Our votes will be determined by the quality of the candidate himself, by his campaign, his political record, his platform—and, no matter what his faith, by his position on [such matters as the use of public funds for parochial schools, birth control—foreign policy, and the larger issues of separation of church and state].

Party, Group, Philosophy, Are the Issues

By William Lee Miller, Assistant Professor of Social Ethics, Yale Divinity School

THE WAY in which, and the degree to which, a President would be affected by his Roman Catholicism would vary widely with different men. In most cases, the *direct* effect would not be great. In every case, one should look at the way the faith functions in the policy of the particular man in order to make a judgment.

Faith and Policy

The man's faith itself, of course, should not be a political issue; the only relevant question would be what effect the faith might have on policy. The same faith has quite different effects in the policy of different men. I find it possible to say that I would *oppose* some men, partly because of the way their Catholicism affected their political position; *support* other men partly because of the way their Catholicism affected their political position; and make a judgment on other Catholics quite independently of their religious faith, since it had no important connection with their political position.

Relevance . . . and Irrelevance of Faith

As an example of the first, I would cite that kind of nationalistic Catholic who holds to a brand of sterile anti-Communism with an authoritarian ingredient in it. I would oppose any man who represented such a position, whether he were Catholic, Protestant, or whatever. Sometimes some kinds of American Catholicism do contribute to such a position. But none of the men now mentioned for the presidency represents this.

On the other hand, in quite different cases, Catholic Christianity helps to shape a sensitive, humane, and intelligent kind of Christian politician, whom one would support partly *because of* the way his Christian faith has shaped his policy position. One

is disappointed to observe how rarely Protestants consider the possibility that Roman Catholics may represent a common Christian substance which they can support.

Finally, there are men in public life who are Roman Catholics, but for whom this fact does not explain much about their public position. I believe the current candidate for President, Senator Kennedy, falls more or less in this category. He is not significantly related to the Catholicism either of *The Brooklyn Tablet* or of Rerum Novarum. He should be judged on other grounds as to whether one agrees with his policy position.

In fact, this is the basis upon which all candidates, of whatever faith, should be judged. The important bases for choosing a President are *party, group,* and *social philosophy,* as these are the key indexes to the *policy direction* his election would serve, and policy direction is the key to responsible political participation. The important facts about a *presidential candidate,* for example, are whether he is "liberal" or "conservative," a Republican or Democrat; what kind of advisers he will draw to himself; what kind of persons he as President will appoint (which would be determined by his party, group, and social philosophy).

Nonpolitical Politics

Too many citizens—and perhaps especially too many Protestant American citizens—make political decisions on nonpolitical bases (for example, on the basis of the "image" or "personality" or "character" of the man). Anti-Catholicism is a particularly insidious form of this *nonpolitical* (and therefore irresponsible) relation to politics. When Protestants think this way they see Catholicism as a great monolith; they think in stereotypes.

As with all prejudices, examples that don't fit the stereotype are dismissed as exceptions: the vast multiplicity of actual Catholicism is reduced to a flat, single picture. Their ultimate, religious, nonpolicy differences on theology are brought into judgments about relative political decisions. And an important influence is social-cultural: the struggle to maintain or advance the place and prestige of one group.

Group Enhancement . . . and Resistance

This plays a role, in my view, on the Catholic side, in bringing some votes to Catholic candidates as representatives of the advancing status of the religious and ethnic groups: to have an Irish-Catholic President would be one last symbol of cultural arrival. Unfortunately there is an

opposite and less justifiable tendency on the Protestant side to resist the full arrival of Catholic Americans and to hold to symbols of Protestant priority. We should fight against this in the current political year, when there is a pressure to create a kind of tribal Protestant bloc, defending itself against the Catholic candidate.

It is disappointing to see that there are not more Protestants criticizing this tendency within our community. We should be more shocked than we are that Protestants have tended to impose a kind of informal, social "religious test" on the presidency, to protect that office for "our own kind." To deny to thirty-five million American Catholics a chance at the highest office in their own country is surely wrong.

Great "Nonsectarian" Issues

Christians should, on the basis of their Christian ethics, determine a policy position on the great issues of the day: on foreign and economic policy, on race, on civil liberties. These are the matters upon which the election in 1960 should turn, not on a fight between Protestant and Catholic blocs. Most important is the issue of the use of the American economic abundance, whether for private consumer goods or for human welfare at home and abroad. That is a large question of great historical significance, for which we now have a responsibility. We should not allow religious prejudice and stereotype to interfere with decisions on such great questions.

Lesser "Sectarian" Issues

But, some would ask, are there not issues upon which Roman Catholic positions are important in public policy? To this I answer, no.

The number of issues upon which there is *specific teaching* or *specific group interest* of Roman Catholicism at odds with the rest of the national community is very small: birth control, divorce, some aspects of medical practice in the first category; perhaps tax support for parochial schools in the second. But four points need to be made immediately about this list: (1) that the matters on it are not so important as the great issues of social policy of the day; (2) that they come to a head mostly in the local and state governments than they do in the presidency; (3) that a Catholic President would probably lean over backward to avoid appearing to be "dominated by the hierarchy" or promoting Catholic interest; and (4) that even on these issues not all Catholics agree as to the lines of public policy.

No "Catholic Line"

That last point should be expanded. There is no single Catholic line, *even* on these "Catholic" issues. Though there may be a Catholic moral principle, to which all are bound, the application of this moral principle to public policy is a question of prudence and the common good, upon which judgment of different Catholics may differ. There are Catholics who reject, as a matter of public policy, the laws against birth control in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

When the Catholic bishops raised the issue of birth control abroad last fall (thus rather effectively repudiating the notion that there is a Catho-

lic plot to elect a Catholic President, since their raising the issue was the strongest blow yet struck against Senator Kennedy's candidacy) the Presbyterian President was much more absolute in his refusal to consider such an action on the part of the American Government than were any of the Catholics who were questioned.

Sin, Crime, and Religion

It is not necessary in Catholic theology and ethics that every item of moral law be made a matter of civil law—that every *sin* become a *crime*. In fact, the tendency to enact into *law* of the state every item of morality is more characteristic of Presbyterians (the Calvinist-Puritan tradition) than of Catholic Christianity (though Catholics in America have absorbed some Puritanism from the environment!).

There are also many Catholics who oppose the general group interest of their community: who are against tax aid to parochial schools, and against an ambassador to the Vatican. The most prominent Catholic candidate, for example, stands in this group.

But to dwell on these matters is to falsify the proportions of our choice. These issues of religious relations should be kept in their place —subordinated firmly to the great issues of the day. They are not major, comparatively, in the first place, and a Catholic President probably would behave no differently on them from a similarly oriented Protestant President, in the second place.

"In the event that a Roman Catholic . . ."

Everybody Should Know the Answers—Now

By Glenn L. Archer, Executive Director, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State

The "religious issue" has assumed large proportions in the presidential campaign. Why does this become a problem of especial urgency when a Roman Catholic candidate is concerned? The answer is simple: the Roman Catholic Church professes an authoritarian control over its members on "moral and spiritual" issues, some of which are civil concerns as well. No other church claims this kind of control.

Sometimes this fact is obscured by a loose analysis of the problem. We are told, for example, that Methodists and Baptists once put over prohibition laws just as Roman Catholics now keep anti-birth-control laws

on the books. It is argued that these activities are of the same kind and merely represent efforts to write the moral law into civil law.

Actually, there is a big difference between these activities, and this difference points up the "religious issue." Methodists and Baptists voted on prohibition, but the decision for prohibition was democratically reached in the denominations themselves and democratically determined in the arena of public discussion and according to constitutional processes. The Roman Catholic stand on birth control, however, was determined and proclaimed by one man in

Rome and was immediately made binding on all American Catholic voters and candidates without their having any voice in the matter.

Birth control is, in fact, a good example of a matter on which the so-called "divine law" of the Roman Catholic Church runs counter to the "divine law" as conceived by other religious groups and, as many believe, counter to sound public policy. Foreign-aid assistance to birth control programs, when these are requested by the nations involved, has become imperative. Yet the Roman Catholic bishops have forbidden their members to support or implement any public assistance for such a program. Unfortunately, no Catholic candidate has disassociated himself from this directive.

There are other issues where the "conflict of interest" can be discerned.

In 1948 the Roman Catholic bishops issued an official statement in which they attacked the interpretation of church-state separation which the Supreme Court had enunciated. They took particular exception to the court's doctrine of the First Amendment, which bars church institutions from receiving public aid. They urged, instead, an interpretation according to which tax funds could be made available for church enterprise provided only that the money was distributed on a "nonpreferential" basis among the denominations. Catholic pressure to include church schools in any program of Federal aid to education has been strong and unrelenting. It may be that a Catholic in the White House might be more sensitive to this pressure than a Protestant.

Divorce laws, welfare and hospital care, mixed marriages, and child care and adoption are all concerns which, while they do not tie directly into the responsibilities of the Chief Executive, have, nevertheless, important reference to his leadership. Censorship is a cause the Catholic Church has strongly espoused, and censorship is a concern of the Presi-

dent as Chief Executive and as an influence in legislation.

Then, there is another category of matters in which the President, if a Roman Catholic, might find his performance considerably influenced by his church. These matters do not involve any exercise of civil authority as such but have to do, rather, with the symbolic significance of the office. As the Chief Executive the President in a sense typifies and personalizes the nation. What he does and does not do, what he can and cannot do, have a significance far beyond that which they would have for an ordinary citizen.

Surely Protestants would want to know whether the President, if a Catholic, would be free to go to any church where he might be invited or where he might desire to go. As a religiously minded people this matter is highly important to us. Senator John F. Kennedy, when a member of the House of Representatives, did not feel free to attend an interfaith banquet in Philadelphia after Cardinal Daugherty had told him not to. Actually, Cardinal Daugherty was within his rights under canon law when he forbade the then Representative Kennedy to attend. For Canon Law 1258 bars Roman Catholic laymen from attending or participating in a non-Catholic service of worship. Certainly Protestants would resent being derogated to "second class" status by a President who would be forbidden to attend any of their events when invited to do so.

How would a Roman Catholic President greet a cardinal of that church? Church protocol requires that he kneel before the cardinal and kiss his ring. Recently the press all over the world carried pictures of James Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, kneeling before a Catholic cardinal. The mayor of Chicago was recently photographed in a similar pose. Myron Taylor, once President Roosevelt's personal representative at the Vatican, frequently appeared in the same act of obeisance. Would a Roman Catholic President be required to perform this gesture? Everybody should know the answer —now.

The issue of religious freedom is involved in the candidacy of a Roman Catholic for President. It is involved in many ways. In 1942, for example, the American Catholic bishops made a public declaration designed to secure the withdrawal of all Protestant missonaries from Latin America. They urged two considerations: (1) that Latin America was Catholic and that other religious faiths would only confuse the situation and (2) that the "good neighbor" policy was being undermined by Protestant missionaries.

For a long time Catholic action made visa troubles for American Protestant missionaries in Latin America. Would there be a revival of these difficulties with a Catholic as Chief Executive?

The Roman Catholic Church has some very specific teaching about the rights of other churches to public worship and the propagation of their faith. Some of this teaching is grim for the Protestants. It would surely be in order for Protestants to learn whether the Catholic candidate takes this sort of thing seriously or whether he rejects it in favor of freedom for all religious groups.

IT WOULD DEPEND

By John C. Bennett, Dean of the Faculty and Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York City

THE only answer to the question as to how a Roman Catholic President would be affected by his religion in the conduct of his office is that it would depend on the man, upon his political convictions, upon his view of church-state relations, upon his intellectual and spiritual independence. It is quite a mistake to assume that a Roman Catholic layman who had gone so far in American political life as to be elected President would in his office be an instrument of the American hierarchy or of the Pope. Somewhere along the line Protestants and other non-Catholics should find out what a Catholic candidate's views are concerning the issues which cause them anxiety. They should study the record of such a candidate to see whether or not it shows signs of independence. But they should not assume in advance that no Roman Catholic can be a satisfactory President.

We have had experience of many Roman Catholics in high office who have shown that their conception of the demands of their faith is consistent with the requirements of their various offices. Recently ten United States Senators who happened to be Roman Catholics voted for an amendment to an education bill that had been opposed by the hierarchy of their church. The only Roman Catholic on the Supreme Court, Justice Brennan, is one of the four judges who most stress civil liberties even in security cases where Roman Catholics are often suspected of being inclined the other way. Senator Kennedy has proved his own independence on such cold war issues as aid to Poland and Yugoslavia and on American policy with reference to the Chinese off-shore islands. A Catholic mayor or even a Catholic governor may feel the pressure of his church in such a one-sided way that it would be difficult for him to pre-

serve his independence, but national office involves so many pressures and counterpressures that if the occupant of the office is a liberal and independent spirit, he will gain freedom from the very fact of the many pressures. Indeed, a strong case can be made for the view that a Roman Catholic who is liberal in his own convictions and who is sophisticated concerning his church might be in a better position to resist some Catholic pressures than a Protestant who would be less able to measure the significance of the particular authorities bringing the pressure. He would be in a better position than a Protestant to realize what varied convictions there are among Roman Catholics on almost all of the issues that might come to his desk. He would know that particular ecclesiastical authorities are not keepers of his conscience on these issues.

Consider, now, two types of issue. There are those, in the first place, which involve some advantage to the Roman Catholic Church at the expense of the American system of separation of church and state. Protestants have in their minds the specter of a world-wide church governed by a master plan and controlled by a single philosophy on such matters as church-state relations and religious liberty. It is of great importance to realize that, while the traditional Catholic teaching that is the product of other centuries and of old-world situations does assume that the ideal condition is one in which the church is united with the state and is in a position to restrict the liberties of non-Catholics, this teaching is challenged in two ways in this and in all other democratic countries. It is challenged by those who pragmatically prefer separation of church and state and religious liberty for all because they have found that this is good for both nation and church. And there are those who challenge it because they believe on principle in religious liberty for all and that the church should change its traditional teaching on this matter. The whole situation is wide open now in most countries. American laymen, when they are sophisticated at all, usually prefer religious liberty on principle.

The fact that both views are widely held in the Roman Church is very significant for the conscience of the individual layman who may hold public office. He can hold to his convictions as a believer in the American system of church-state relations and as a believer in religious liberty on principle without feeling threatened in his conscience by his church as it expressed itself in the mid-nineteenth century through the Syllabus of Errors. I should never vote for a Roman Catholic for high office if I did not believe that he was the kind of Catholic who knew his way around in these matters and who was responsive to the moral liberal position that is widely held in his church in both this country and Europe.

Protestants often say that the Pope should formally renounce the traditional doctrine, but that is not the way in which ancient institutions change. Instead you are more likely to get fresh interpretations and reservations surrounding the traditional doctrine, and then you may get less

emphasis upon it and real openness to another position which is also given a hearing. The Roman Church is in the latter stage now.

The second type of issue is one on which there may appear to be a Catholic line that non-Catholics oppose, and it may be feared that a Catholic President will be bound either by his own conviction or by pressure from his church to promote it. Actually there are very few such issues and most of them are handled by states or local governments. This is true of birth control, school policies, gambling, divorce laws, censorship. On the large issues of national policy Roman Catholics are divided as are other Americans, and I am assuming that the convictions of a Catholic President would be known in advance. A Catholic President who believed in Federal aid to education would probably be guided by a "prudent" view of the needs of the situation rather than by an absolute Catholic principle in dealing with a bill that might have some item which authorities in his church oppose. The same would probably be true of a foreign-aid bill that had within it one item in regard to birth control which he might personally oppose. Catholics themselves are divided on the idea of an ambassador to the Vatican, but if they should push for this a Protestant President would not be much less vulnerable than a Catholic. The only Catholic now being considered is on record as opposed to this step.

I hope that no one is asking that a Catholic President be uninfluenced by his Christian faith. There are aspects of Catholic social teaching which would be a boon to the nation if it came through the mind and conscience of a Catholic of liberal spirit and of social intelligence. The record of Catholic Senators on issues of social justice is one for which we should be grateful. On the very few narrowly "Roman Catholic" issues on the national level about which Protestants are fearful, let them be on the alert in each case and take comfort from the fact that the President cannot do much about any one of them alone.

The editors of SOCIAL PROGRESS believe that it is entirely proper to ask a candidate for public office to state his views on the separation of church and state, especially if there is reason to believe that his religious affiliation may influence his thinking on the subject, but that to support or reject a candidate primarily because of his religious affiliation is irresponsible.

There has been evidence of the appearance of something approaching religious bigotry among a few members and leaders of the Protestant churches of our country.

We hope that the preceding six articles will help the readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS to understand the issues at stake and to think and act responsibly.

TOP PRIORITY—1960

A major function of the 1960 presidential campaign is not only to get a President and Vice-President elected, but also to delineate for the American people each party's concept of the crucial issues that can be resolved only or primarily through the leadership and initiative of the Chief Executive of the United States.

We believe a list of top issues includes at least the following, and any presidential candidate who does not treat them with respect deserves to have his qualifications called into question.—*The Editors*

☒ The Definition of National Purpose

When a nation is in a state of war or of great depression its temporary national purpose is obvious, and the people rally to serve that purpose. But when the nation is in a state of affluence, as it is now, when the gross national product is over $500 billion, when the people are surfeited with consumer goods, and comfort obscures the threat to survival, then the questions, *Why are we here?* and *Toward what must we strive?* cry for an answer that can validate itself in a national consensus. Building bulwarks against the threat of communism is utterly inadequate now as the sole or central purpose of our national existence.

☒ The Exercise of Leadership in Positive Policy Proposals That Seize International Initiative and Guide Domestic Development

It ill becomes a nation that has been thrust by history into world leadership to appear to be constantly in a posture of belated response to the dynamic forces of change and of aggressive communism. Nor is it seemly for a nation to continue piling up agricultural surpluses in a world with a third of its people hungry, to endure official regional demonstrations of defiance to racial desegregation and popular defense of discrimination, or to permit the haphazard growth of sprawling urban communities. These and other problems require the courageous enunciation of policy and direction that will be implemented by developing legislation.

☒ Unrelenting Efforts to Achieve Universal Disarmament

The unsolved problems of the cold war and the consequent tensions between the major powers continue to frustrate efforts toward reduction and

regulation of armaments. The nation's leaders must seek through patient and persistent negotiation the reduction and limitation of conventional armaments and the abolition of nuclear weapons. The goal is universal disarmament with adequate inspection and control, and in pressing toward this goal, we need to be warned against misleading, dramatic, simple solutions.

☒ Equal Treatment of All Minorities

It is probably unrealistic to expect by *legislative action* more than a gradual movement toward equal rights in all areas of our common life. This underlines the importance of vigorous exercise of executive authority to implement equality of treatment by the many agencies of the Federal Government that spend tax money for welfare and other services. However, a presidential candidate who openly promises such vigorous executive leadership probably could not get elected. Intimations of intention must be sensed in his record and in his attitude toward civil rights. Of course, legislative efforts must be continued unremittingly.

☒ Control of Inflation Within a Continually Expanding Economy

The crucial issues of economic policy require a Federal budget adequate for the nation's needs and realistically related to sound economic growth. To reinforce this goal we need vigilant concern for what is being done by Government agencies to reduce waste in overlapping services and in military spending. Attention should be given also to the opening up of new sources of income through taxes and the closing of loopholes in tax structures. There must be continued efforts to control inflation without slowing down the over-all growth of our economy. Policies for undergirding such segments of our economy as agriculture and small businesses need to be reviewed and possibly revised.

☒ Assisting the Newly Developing Countries of the World

Technical and economic assistance for the newly developing countries will continue to be a large and necessary aspect of United States foreign policy for many years to come. Millions of people in the emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are caught up in a revolutionary movement toward freedom and status in the community of nations. In providing assistance, the United States should guard against gratuitous interference with the formation of indigenous social, political, and economic institutions in the newly developing lands where people are reaching for the sun.

Politics and the Bureaus:

Checks and Balances in Action

By Julius N. Cahn, Director of Medical Research Project, International Health Study, U.S. Senate

Politics is people. It is personalities—issues—attitudes.

Politics is what is not specifically mentioned by "the most wonderous instrument ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man"—the Constitution of the United States. But it is a necessary ingredient—a way of life, a formula —which helps fulfill the purposes of that noble instrument.

Federal administration is people also. It is two million people in the executive departments and a third of a million in the independent agencies. (It is also 60,000 American citizens serving U.S. agencies abroad.) It is the organism which administers (and helps write) the laws of the land, the executive orders of the President and masses of regulations.

Politics and Federal administration intertwine. But why and how and where and when? And what, further, are politics and administration in and of themselves?

Politics is power, real or latent, continuous or irregular—power aimed at success, at victory—power built on the acid test of survival.

Politics is the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees. But it is also precinct, ward, town, county, and regional leaders. Ultimately it is one hundred million Americans who vote, or do not vote. Politics is men who serve city hall or who choose to "fight city hall." Politics is goal, tactics, and strategy; it is promise, platform, and performance; it is "we" and "they," the "ins" and the "outs." It is what Mr. Gallup reports the American people do not like and do not like their children to grow up in. But it is also ideal—principle—dedication—sacrifice.

Politics is votes—bloc votes and independent votes, pocketbook votes, belly votes, brain votes, and heart votes. Politics is sometimes what makes men powerful whether or not they merit it. But it is also what, in part, brought and kept Abraham Lincoln in office and in power and what has given the republic statesmen too numerous to mention. And it is politics that time and again may break the hearts of noble men on whom its fortune ceases to smile.

Politics is what the American people choose to make it or to allow it to become—as noble or as base as they, themselves, may wish or may permit it to be.

Politics is facts—statistics—arguments. It is also folkways, emotions, instincts, hopes, fears, doubts, and dreams. And, said Will Rogers, "Politics is applesauce."

It is ideas and ideals, but it also may be slogans, clichés, shibboleths, catchwords. It is at its best when it lifts men to the heights. It is at its worst when it brings out the deep selfishness that lurks within us.

And what is Federal administration? It is everything that civics textbooks say it is, and a lot that they don't say. It is the brain, eyes, ears, arms, feet of Uncle Sam. It is the vast establishment under the direction of the President of the United States. It is headed by officials appointed by a Chief Executive and, in many instances, confirmed by the Senate (perhaps by both or one or neither for political reasons). Federal administration is staffed overwhelmingly by Civil Service employees.

Today, it shapes the lives and destiny of the American people and, indeed, the people of the world to a greater extent than ever before in history. Within the office buildings of the executive branch are shaped most of the day-to-day decisions which may mean peace or war, prosperity or depression, inflation or deflation. No major segment of American society is immune to the decisions of Federal administration —whether it be labor, agriculture, business (small or large) professionals, or any other group.

Federal administration is big (many say, too big). It is powerful (many say, too powerful). It is costly (many say, too costly). But it got that way and stays that way and will remain that way until and unless the American people will otherwise —through their own ballots.

It has been said that a Federal bureau may help make (or start to break) a whole community, an industry, a region, a state.

It is remarked that a single major Federal rate decision, a single large Federal contract awarded or canceled, a single shift on farm policy or reclamation, credit, housing, antitrust, or a hundred other policies can influence tens, hundreds, thousands, millions of lives.

But it is the good fortune of the American people that this type of power is not irreversible. And it is exercised by and large, within a public spotlight, almost always by honest men and usually, by fairly reasonable, if not perfect, standards.

But if this is not so, or if John Citizen believes it is not so, he turns to the Congress or to the press or to

the President or his party or the courts. And it is the ballot that he can wave—his future ballot—and (he may say and think and act) that of his family, friends, union, lodge, club, association, auxiliary, neighborhood, or other group.

But there will always be Robert Citizen and Mary Citizen and other citizens who may view matters differently from John. And they will not be silent or inactive if they feel that their principles or their interests are or may be aggrieved by John or anyone else.

Each force in American society, then, is subject to forces of checks and balances—both from without and from within.

The system of checks and balances represents the most effective single means ever devised by man to assure the control of arbitrary power.

The executive branch may find itself checkmated by the legislative or the judicial branch, and the legislative branch's plight may be similar. The communications media—press, radio, television—bathe all of them in the light of public scrutiny. Special interest groups may have their opportunity, but so do their opponents, and so does the vast, unorganized electorate.

The Congress particularly may be shaped by all these forces. Indeed, it may be fairly stated that no group in America is more sensitive to the vast complex which is America than are the 537 members of the Congress. Yet, this fortunately, being a constitutional republic, the members of Congress answer not only to the American people but to their own consciences. So, the Congress may and does vote its own individual sentiments whether, for example, special interests may like it or not, or even whether a temporary majority of the people may like it or not.

Members of the Congress may be unjustly reviled and heaped with abuse; some of the noblest members may wear themselves out before their time in unacknowledged service of the nation. But statesmanship perseveres. The Congress is, in part, a living proof of "extraordinary possibilities of (so-called) ordinary people," the living proof that 537 men and women of two different parties and a myriad of different faiths and backgrounds can work like a team (or quarrel like a family).

The "bureaus downtown," the ten departments, the sixty-odd agencies and commissions, also deserve their day and their due. There is no generality that will "type" the Federal administrator or determine his susceptibility to politics. There are weak men and strong men, men dedicated to making a career of public service and those serving a one- or two-year tour of duty who cannot wait to get back home. There are administrators and groups virtually free of political pressure, such as the Federal Reserve Board and those at a far opposite pole of dependence upon party headquarters. There are administrators who will try to be but could not care less whether they are actually popular with the Congress or with the American people or with their own party so long as they, according to their own conscience, feel they are best serving the interests of the nation. And there are administrators so

determined to make "good" that they will bend before most winds.

There are administrators who feel themselves defenders and spokesmen of the party in power and those to whom patronage is anathema and the fortunes of the party of little concern.

Actually, whether in or out of power in one or both branches, each party will seek to build its record.

For the party in power, it will be, the speeches say, a record of faithful "fulfillment by the administration of promises which it made when it was elected to office."

For the party out of power, it will be a record of "loyal opposition to the President, but one which seeks nevertheless to rectify the errors of omission and commission by his administration."

It is a President himself who embodies the party in power. But he is also Chief Executive, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, and wearer of many other hats.

His first allegiance is required to be to his nation.

And his is in any event the most burdensome office in all the world. Within the twenty-four hours of his day fall the most varied responsibilities, the most challenging decisions faced by any human being on the face of the earth.

Inevitably, therefore, there will be others—within his party—who seek to share, to backstop, or to contest his power. They may, in particular, fight him for personal, regional, ideological, institutional, or many other reasons.

The leaders of a President's party on Capitol Hill will usually seek, by definition, to work with him. But his own captains may be in the minority in one or both chambers of Congress. And the party organization in their home state or home district may view matters differently from the President.

In addition, the chairmen of standing or special committees of the Congress are bound by no law that compels them to defer automatically to anyone. Of course, they will have reason to try to work with a President, particularly of their own party, as will all other members of their committees. But that is no guarantee of anything on any given issue.

In each state or district, the norm of party responsibility, party unity, and party loyalty differs in importance. Independent voting, by a legislator, which may be tolerated in an area where party organization is loose, may be intolerable and "suicidal" in another area where voting is strong.

When a legislator views the ad-

ministration, therefore, whether it be an administration under his own party or that of the other party, there is no way of predicting whether he will look warmly or coldly. A loyal party member viewing a budget submitted by a Federal agency, controlled by his own party, may want to slash the budget or increase the budget for reasons having nothing to do with the party.

Time after time, an administration has found some of its strongest critics from within its own party, inside or outside Congress. Usually the party will defend its own. But imponderables as complex as the fifty states must be reckoned with.

Politics and administration are therefore in fluid interaction. Neither is stable, neither is always predictable, although both may run to form. Most officials may be thinking more of the next election than the welfare of the next generation.

In the final analysis it is the American people—not the party, for it can make or break the party, not the administration, not the Congress—who will have the final say, and where it counts, at the ballot box.

Even before then they will be heard from. How? By visits, in group or mass meetings with or without administrators and legislators, by telephone calls, letters, telegrams, petitions, resolutions, letters to the editor, placards.

All this is checks and balances—on both branches. All this is part of politics, and it is part of the way that administrative decisions may be shaped and reshaped.

And all this too is the dymanic process which makes us, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "the last best hope of earth."

Vote for Man, Catholics Told

Trenton, April 15—(AP)—*The Monitor*, official newspaper of Trenton's Roman Catholic Diocese, says Catholics who vote for a Catholic for President simply because of his religion are "in danger of committing sin."

The newspaper, in an editorial, said of Catholic voters: "As a matter of conscience, as well as of patriotism and loyalty, the welfare of their country must be their first consideration when they go to the poll on election day.

"Catholics have nothing to gain for their church or for their personal interests by the election of one of their faith to the presidency. They have never suffered from prejudice or intolerance in the White House."

The paper said Catholics could not expect any improvement of their faith's situation under a Catholic President and, in fact, might find a Catholic President blamed for national misfortune or calamity on grounds of his religion.

***The Monitor* said the converse is also true. A Catholic has the right to aspire to the presidency and nothing in his faith bars him from being a good President, it said.—*The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, Pa.**

By Helen Lineweaver
Director, Washington Office
Department of Social Education and Action

The National Conventions

ONCE EVERY FOUR YEARS the people of the United States, in the effort to choose a President, are treated to what has become a wild, frenzied spectacle. Because of radio and TV the general public has a ringside seat on much of the performance. Will Rogers once called the national conventions "the Fourth of July celebration of national politics," and a contemporary observer said recently that the presidential nominating conventions and their preliminaries have become "an expensive circus." A "What America Thinks" poll, released in April, indicated the American public rather generally feels the same way, 65.7 per cent agreeing, 19.7 per cent disagreeing, and 14.6 per cent having no opinion on that interpretation.

Origin of National Conventions

After other methods were tried, the first popularly chosen nominating convention was held in 1831, and by 1840 it had become the established means of choosing candidates and adopting platforms. Despite periodic outbursts of criticism and dissatisfaction, it remains the accepted pattern today.

The national conventions have no legal standing and are not regulated by State or Federal law. However, the persons nominated at the respective conventions for the offices of President and Vice-President are usually entitled, under state law, to have their names on the general election ballot. This becomes a mere formality, though, since under the Constitution the President and Vice-President are actually elected by the electors who are state officers, nominated and elected according to state law.

The Delegates

The apportionment of delegates to the national conventions is normally announced by the National Committees of the Democratic and Republican parties and is made pursuant to

party rules. This distribution of delegates among the states is based not only on Congressional apportionment (the number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which a state is entitled), but also to a certain extent on the success of the party in the particular state or a Congressional district at the last preceding election. The methods of apportionment used by the two major parties differ somewhat, but both parties use the Congressional apportionment as a base. In the 1960 conventions, the Democrats will have 3,042 delegates with one-half vote each, and the Republicans 1,331 delegates with one vote each. Thus there will be 1,521 votes in the Democratic convention with 1,331 in the Republican, necessitating 761 votes in the Democratic convention and 666 in the Republican, to secure the nomination.

The method of selecting the delegates varies. Some states regulate the selection by law, but others do not. At present, delegates may be elected generally in one of three ways: at the primary election, at a state convention, or by state committees of the party. In some states where the primary is used to elect the delegates the voter is given a chance to express a choice as to presidential and vice-presidential candidates, a system known as the "preferential presidential primary." This system is employed at present in less than a third of the states.

A recent study by the Brookings Institution asserts that delegates to the national conventions are "about as reputable a group of individuals as could reasonably be expected in any large political assembly in this imperfect world. . . . [They are] better educated, less boss-ridden . . . and generally more trustworthy in all respects than those of a half a century earlier."

Relative to the freedom of delegates to support the candidates of their personal choice at the conventions, various requirements are in effect. Some delegates are required by primary law or by state convention rules to support the candidate to whom they are pledged so long as that candidate has a chance. On the first ballot they must vote as required, but may switch before the closing of the ballot, or at any later time, if it becomes obvious that their candidate cannot win. Other delegates are committed only to support a candidate on a specified number of ballots, sometimes only the first. Some delegates go to the conventions uncommitted, while others are pledged to so-called "favorite son" candidates, a device used as a means of bargaining for political advantage. "Almost all nominations are negotiated victories," says *Congressional Quarterly*, "and as the balloting goes on, so do caucuses of state delegations, secret meetings and horse-trading sessions of convention leaders—both on the floor and in hotel rooms. . . . Once a candidate has mustered enough votes to be assured of the nomination, there usually is an effort to jump on the band wagon and make the choice unanimous."

The Platform

In addition to choosing the party's presidential nominee, the other major task of the national conventions is the writing and adoption of the

party's platform. This document is significant as the only official statement of the party's position and program on the issues of the day. It is drafted and presented by the Convention's Resolution Committee, but much of the work is done in advance of the convention opening. Hearings are usually held in the convention city during the week preceding the scheduled opening of the convention. National organizations and others are invited to appear in support of certain "planks" they may want included in the parties' platforms. There are usually controversial issues on which many positions within the party have to be reconciled and the platform in its final form is seldom a forthright document.

As a rule, Congressional leaders of the party "out of power" usually wield the most influence in shaping their party's platform, while the White House more or less determines the platform of the party "in power." Since the platform is adopted in advance of the choice of the presidential nominee there is always the possibility that it will fail to be representative of the candidates' ideas and views. On occasion, presidential nominees have openly repudiated parts of the party's platform. Over the years the platform has declined in importance, and the position of the candidate as set forth by himself seems to be much more influential with the voters.

The Man in Charge

One of the most important positions in the national conventions is that of the presiding officer—the permanent chairman. It is probably the most strategic spot in the whole convention. Whom he chooses to recognize, and when, can often determine the success or failure of a motion or may even vitally influence the fortunes of a prospective nominee. Anyone who remembers Chairman Rayburn's deft handling of the squabble over the seating of the Virginia delegation in 1952, or the dejected figure of Senator Kefauver waiting to be recognized to present a minority platform report in the same convention, can testify to the validity of this appraisal. The person to fill this position is usually decided upon in advance by party chieftains, and the election by the convention is merely a perfunctory matter.

A convention committee that has assumed increasing importance in recent years is the Credentials Committee. Several bitter battles have ensued over the seating of contested delegations. Prior to the opening of each convention the National Committee of each party prepares a temporary list of convention delegates. This list is referred to the Committee on Credentials, which hears the claims of contesting delegations, if there are any, and makes recommendations to the convention as to which delegation is to be seated. The convention itself has the final say in all disputes.

Cabell Phillips, of *The New York Times* Washington staff, wrote recently: "A hotly contested nominating convention is packed with more real-life drama and suspense than the eeriest cliff-hanger ever devised by Hollywood. The election campaign itself is often an emotional anticlimax to the big scene on the convention floor."

The Christian in Organization Politics

An Interview with a Big-City Politician

By Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Associate Secretary,
Department of Social Education and Action

TOM MCINTOSH is a hard-hitting career politician who knows what big-city politics are all about. He also knows something about the Christian faith, but, as he would put it, "in a practical sort of way." He is a member and trustee of the Tioga United Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

Councilman McIntosh is an "organization man" and makes no bones about it. His belief that the organization "renders service to the people" is a part of his confession of faith as a Christian. But he has not relaxed the tension in his own search to discover what it means to be a Christian in machine politics. He worked his way up from the bottom of the ladder of the Democratic Party in Philadelphia, beginning his career in politics as a student at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He attended Martin College and Temple University Law School while serving on the Executive Committee of the 29th Ward. Last year, Tom McIntosh was elected on Mayor Dilworth's Democratic ticket to the Philadelphia City Council representing the 5th District. During one of his recent visits to our office, I taped the following interview with the Councilman. It powerfully suggests the main lines of his thinking about the importance of organization politics and the role of a Christian layman who has been called to that vocation.

The views expressed represent his own thinking and not necessarily that of the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action.

GW: Councilman, there is a great deal of misunderstanding among church people about the purpose and function of the political machine. What is your definition of a machine and what is its importance in our kind of government?

TM: First, I would rather use the word "political organization" than "machine," because I feel that what

is considered a political machine is nothing more than a very well-functioning organization. The public mainly refers to it as a machine, but I do not like that definition. A political organization is composed of people primarily interested in the political development of the community, city, state, or nation. It is organized in such a way as to bring the greatest amount of pressure to get certain political ends; to mobilize in the best way people of like political persuasion or interest in order to accomplish the aims of that particular group.

In the political organization there is a conglomeration of people from all faiths and backgrounds—economic, racial, and cultural. It is the job of this organization to syncretize all these different factors into one effective machine. The purpose is to carry forth the program of the group.

The political organization is the most important factor we have in our society. Without it democracy, even in America, would crack, because there would be no effective machinery for collecting the various ideas that are present in our society and molding them into an effective means of public expression.

GW: I suppose you know that many church people believe it is better that individuals try to achieve a good society without machine politics.

TM: That just doesn't make sense. The very idea of this being done on an individual basis conflicts with the society in which we live today. It is impossible for people individually to give voice to their opinion in a way that really counts. We can thank God that, people being what they are, this is done through representation in America! There must be organizations that elect people who closely conform to the thinking of various sections of the population. You need political organizations to purify and channel all this energy into one direction. If not, everything would be a mess.

GW: Are you saying that a democratic society would break down without political machines?

TM: Let's look at it this way. Start with the organization precinctwise. That is what is known as the division. The next is the ward organization and then the city or county organization. In some of the rural communities the division would be comparable to a precinct or a district.

It is my contention that without the ward organization we could not even have elections as we have them now! The various ward representatives see that you have polling places set up and all the necessary officials. They see to it that people are registered and made aware of the dates and who is running in the various elections. The very election procedure in our society depends on ward organization for publicity and for the effective carrying out of a democratic process of election.

GW: What about the day-to-day functioning of the government? Do the organizations have a role in that?

TM: The organizations play a very big part in the day-to-day functioning of the government. I think it would be very hard to ever arrive at a decision on anything if everyone

in the different branches of government regarded himself as an autonomous individual. It would be almost impossible to crystallize opinions in any effective way in the day-to-day situations.

A politician, although he is an individual, is committed to the basic policies of a party and conforms to that policy. This makes for orderly and effective government which would not be possible if every man was on a ticket of his own and responsible only to himself.

GW: You are now talking about party discipline, aren't you?

TM: Yes. Discipline is a very important part of the organization. There must be a certain minimum loyalty in any group. We have to be able to depend on those who benefit by the work and effort of an organization. Unless they conform, within certain bounds, every man would run off at random any time the situation did not meet his liking. There can't be a government, and there can't be an organization without some type of control. It may be superficial control, but there must be something—some sense of loyalty and intraparty discipline.

GW: Suppose, as a Christian, there is a conflict between your own point of view and the organization's policy?

TM: The party machinery, I think, makes adequate provision for the settlement of such differences. On ward and county levels—even in the divisions—there is full discussion of the issues and facts. Incidentally, the first thing a Christian has to do is face the facts!

But the pros and cons, the good points and the bad points, the ethical and the unethical, are fully explored. Then the body takes a vote on what in their considered judgment is the best position for all as opposed to my personal opinion on the issue. After the vote, as a member of the party, I am bound to go along with the decision of the party.

As a Christian, I do not believe that this is a weakness on my part or on anyone's part. By and large, all things considered, it is the best thing for everyone, and it benefits everyone without going out on a tangent for one point of view.

GW: Is there some Christian insight in your judgment about this? It seems so to me.

TM: Well, you might say that this requires a certain amount of humility. It also requires a certain amount of realization of human sin; that we are all prone to mistakes in our own particular prejudices if we feel strongly about a certain course of action. Feeling strongly does not mean it is the proper course.

Events in history have pointed out, it seems to me, that a collective judgment on policy issues is usually better than the judgment of one person. However, how do we get third parties from time to time? If a person has a strong conscientious objection, he should no longer retain membership within one of the established parties. He can leave. No one is forced to stay in an organization.

GW: Councilman, I wonder if you can cite what ethical guidelines you feel govern the functioning of a political organization. Are there

ethical agreements among organization people regarding politics in general?

TM: If I understand your question correctly, I would say this: a political party exists primarily because some people feel that their philosophy is best for the society in which they live. Therefore, the pri-

mary thing for them to do is to find men and women who basically believe in their cause and are willing to give time, effort, money, and heart to advance that particular cause. We want in a political organization what we want in a good society in general —and in general we *have* it—people who are basically honest, intelligent, industrious, and people who have a goal in life for themselves and for their fellow men. In politics, more than in any other activity I know, there is opportunity for service, and if a person is not dedicated to service, he is bound to be a failure. Politics renders service to people—that is why it is one of the highest Christian vocations, to my way of thinking.

GW: What about those who are in it purely for selfish reasons?

TM: I would say that temporarily, as in any other field of activity, they may obtain control, but in the long run they will be eliminated. No political party wants to destroy itself, and it is to its advantage to weed out those people as soon as they are found out. Sometimes it is not easy to do, but the leaders of the organization try to prevent the disrepute to the organization that those people bring.

GW: Another question of ethics in organization politics has to do with justice and the legitimate aspirations of people. Do you have anything to say about this?

TM: Here again you can see how much the organization means on the lower levels. I would like you to keep in mind here that I am speaking about a district that is made up basically of people on the lower level of income and education. These people are of limited means, they are honest, law-abiding, hard-working people, and their time is precious, almost wholly used up in getting food, shelter, clothing with only occasional relief from the burden of life in the inner city. Sometimes the organization's man may be called by one of these constituents to stop in at City Hall and pay a water bill or a real estate tax. There may be times when somebody in the family may become sick and they may not know the best way to get this person admitted to a hospital, or they might need ambulance service in an emergency. They

would call for these things. Or the street needs to be repaired and repaved. They may want a sprinkler for their children in the summer, and it would be the job of the organization's man to try to acquire one for the neighborhood. These things have ethical import, don't you think?

GW: How much time does this sort of thing take? I'm trying to get an idea of the extent of service actually given by the organization leader.

TM: There is no limitation on this sort of thing. Any division that has a good leader will call on him twenty-four hours a day. I mean these things I have enumerated—sicknesses, emergencies—may happen at two, three, four o'clock in the morning. Your people feel they can come to you for your help. In a big city like Philadelphia you may be the only way they can get immediate help. Even if you cannot get it for them, people want to feel that they can discuss their problems with you and get some relief for them in that way.

GW: I imagine this sort of intensive work has something to do with that dirty word "patronage."

TM: I would say that if anyone looked at this situation fairly he would recognize that there is nothing wrong with political patronage as such. The time when patronage becomes dangerous is when this right of reward is abused.

Patronage is nothing more than this: there is a person giving of his time, energy, and effort on behalf of the people in his division or district. That person has a right to some kind of reward commensurate with his ability. I think that it has a lot of unfavorable and unjust publicity because so many people do not understand it. Some men have been placed in the wrong positions, but if a person is qualified, placed in a position within his capabilities, he can do just as good a job as someone who obtained a job by some other means.

GW: Let us move to another area, Councilman. We have been talking all around the question of power. I wonder if you would comment on the problem of power in organization politics.

TM: I would say that power in politics, or we should say the capacity for power, is the same as we find it in economic life, church life, big industries, banks, etc. The mere capacity for power is not the basic thing, but the use to which power is put. If power is used in a good pursuit and in the interests of the betterment of society, it is a good thing. If power is unscrupulously used, it can be used to strangle a community. It all depends on the people who have the power.

But unlike economic and some other forms of power, there is one exception in political power. The people can always take it away! One good thing about the organization is that it has power, but it also polices the use of power. In other words, we do not want to have as a member anyone who obtains and holds an office by a disreputable or illegitimate means—even though that person may be elected by the people. The organization has, let us say in the case of a division committeeman, the right to determine the qualifications of its members, like any other

organization. This is to prevent unscrupulous people, as far as possible, from becoming members of an executive group and wielding power. This does not work out all the time, but it is a part of organization policy to have high selectivity within the political organization to control power and determine the type of person who will be allowed to come in. Even this power has been abused, however, in sometimes preventing qualified people from joining the power center of the organization.

GW: This brings up the question of the function of the political "boss."

TM: Here again we have a term that has become derogatory. Why not use "political leader" because that is actually what he is? Take a firm, a church—any organization has to have a leader—someone with final authority through whom the energies of the organization can be channeled to the determined outlets. Without a leader a political organization or any other organization cannot operate effectively. There must be someone to follow, someone to order and co-ordinate. Just imagine the situation. In Philadelphia we have sixty wards. Without some recourse to final authority you can see what turmoil you would have with sixty leaders, even though they may be good and wise men and women, trying to determine details of day-to-day operation. There inevitably are differences among such leaders. The county chairman must be the final authority.

GW: Let me get to another area. The word "compromise" is tossed around quite a bit in church circles. It, too, has become a derogatory term. What does it mean to you?

TM: Well, most people think of an issue as being black or white. I think, when you get right down to it, there are very few issues, if any in this life, that are either black or white. Usually, there are shades of gray and that's what compromise is. Originally on a particular issue I may feel that my position is the only position. As a Christian I may be particularly vulnerable here. But intelligent discussion may tend to bring me to a stage when I honestly believe that my original position, while not altogether wrong, is neither altogether right. Isn't this usually the case? Somewhere between the two extremes is the most logical, practical—and I must say—the most ethical solution to the problem. I think that "principle," by and large, as people refer to it is a rather intangible and inadequate basis for living in this world as God means us to live. What is considered a principle by one person, when it is examined in the light of the facts of a situation, may have nothing to do with the real situation at all. You must remember here that you are dealing with human beings, their lives, fortunes, and aspirations. You have to maintain a sort of flexible outlook on everything.

GW: In a way you seem to be carrying out a pastoral ministry that is somewhat comparable to that of a clergyman. What are the differences?

TM: The distinction is really in the mind of most clergymen, I would say. A minister seems to be more concerned about a ministry to the soul of the person, trying to get him

to live according to Christian principles, whereas I would be more concerned with helping people to live this everyday life and to cope with the problems of existence in a great city like Philadelphia.

I feel that a man's faith, or lack of faith, will be related to his political life. I see no basic conflict between my activity as a political leader and what is demanded of me by my church. In other words, to be a good politician a man must live according to the Ten Commandments and believe in the fair treatment of his fellow man. As I pointed out, he must be dedicated to service. This is also, as I understand it, a basic Christian concept.

I believe also that if a man has faith in Christ he will also have faith in his fellow man, and he will better be able to withstand the temptations in politics to exploit him. When he is faced with a difficult decision, he is in a better position to make the right choice.

GW: One final question, Councilman. What do you think is the role of the churches in politics?

TM: Basically, our form of government calls for the separation of church and state, and I go along with that 100 per cent. However, I think that the churches must realize that it is the duty of church members to vote and take an active part in government on every level. The Christian has a moral obligation to do this, because if Christians do not work in politics, godless people will run the government to their own advantage.

A problem for the politician is that the church people are only one part of his constituency. Often they are the least active politically. Members of the churches vote, but they seldom follow up. Politicians are responsive to voters who are most active in pushing their weight around. It is human to go along with people who are going to back up their beliefs rather than give them lip service. If I know that the churches are really going to do something about an issue and back me up, I will give it much more attention.

Mr. Wilmore, to me politics has been a never-ending fight to adjust the idealistic aims of humanity to the practical solutions that are limited by the everyday facts, emotions, and struggles of people for survival in this world for which Christ died.

We have these ideals, but we try to adjust them to conditions as they are. Religion and politics are really akin. Both are seeking the best way for man to live in peace and harmony with his fellow men. If they conflict, it is usually because politics would do this by practical means while religion too often looks at a problem from the view of what the church would like to believe it is.

The Christian politician has to steer a course between. He doesn't absolutely accept what is. However, he recognizes certain tangible factors which make a situation what it is, and he tries to correct these factors in the hope that by doing so he may possibly move closer to that rather intangible goal—the happiness, peace, and brotherhood of man.

HOW TO GET INTO LOCAL POLITICS

By the SEA Staff

Question: **How do I get into local politics?**

Answer: **It's easy. Volunteer.**

First, make sure you are registered in the party of your choice. Second, before the primary, or two months before the November general election, call your ward, municipal, or county party headquarters. Ask to speak with the chairman—or leave a message for him.

Tell him that you are interested in working for the party, willing to help win the coming election. Ask for an opportunity to meet him, or ask for the name and address of your committeeman (the person responsible for party activity in your precinct or district) so that you can discuss more fully the kinds of work you are willing and able to do.

Or, if there is a "Republican Club" or a "Democratic Club" in your ward—as is likely if you live in a large city—ask your committeeman to take you to the next meeting. Meet the people, express interest and a desire to learn, and join.

Most local political organizations are only too eager to welcome you, accept your money, and put you to work . . . all with a minimum of questions asked. From then on the kinds of activity you engage in and the rapidity with which you rise to leadership responsibility depends upon the extent to which you possess and exercise those qualities which are needed in a political party.

Most of these qualities are similar to those needed in any other social group: personableness, intelligence, perceptiveness, articulateness, and a willingness to give time and effort. You will also be expected to make your nominal contribution of money to the party—there are few free riders in a well-run political organization.

But other qualities, which may be acquired with experience, are also necessary for leadership in the local party organization: *political judg-*

ment—the ability to weigh realistically alternate goals and the best methods to achieve them; *tolerance*—the ability to accept and work with many different kinds of people whose tastes, values, speech, and dress may be quite unlike your desires; *loyalty*—the willingness to do some things that you may regard as disagreeable or distasteful or a waste of time, all because they make up the effort and program of the organization. In the last analysis, of course, you will need that indefinable quality which can only be referred to by the name itself—the ability to exercise leadership when leadership is needed. Leadership is exercised when someone takes the initiative to move toward the solution of a problem.

You will begin your activity by doing the dull, routine things that make up the program of a local, grass-roots political organization: address and stuff envelopes, type, run a mimeograph machine, attend meetings, make telephone calls, distribute literature, ring doorbells, attend meetings, listen to speeches, transport voters to the polls, act as watcher, attend meetings, drink gallons of coffee (while some drink beer), and attend meetings.

After a while the excitement will catch you in its grip too. You will find yourself getting enthusiastic about things that, before you were infected with the disease of politics, would have left you cold. You will find yourself becoming vehemently partisan because what used to look from the outside like minor and obscure political differences, now, in their *true* light, are crucial. You will begin to wonder how the vast majority of the voters can remain so apathetic about the vital issues you are helping to decide—and you will feel sorry for them. Eventually you may find yourself a candidate for a party office (committee person, chairman of the district or ward or division, convention delegate) or even for public office.

You will make new friends (and probably enemies). You will acquire a wide circle of acquaintances, some very ordinary, some extraordinary. And you will wonder how you ever could have made such easy, black-and-white, moral judgments about politics and persons and issues before.

You will begin to see the accuracy of the statement: The nonpartisan is without political significance in American politics; the registered partisan voter has perhaps ten times as much influence as the nonpartisan; but the active participant in party organization has ten times as much influence as the one who simply registers and votes.

Finally (if you are a Christian), when one of the multitude of meetings is ended and "the tumult and the shouting" is over, you will go home and look honestly at your inner self in the light of God's righteousness. Perspective will return, and you will understand what Paul and Augustine and Luther meant when they said, "The just shall live by faith." For you will know existentially what every Christian knows doctrinally, that only a God who forgives in free grace can sustain a human being who really knows himself as a sinner.

PROGRAM POINTERS

THE "THINK PIECES" in this pre-election issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS make good private reading and pondering. But we hope readers won't stop at that. Election homework should be a solid part of group discussion in churches and neighborhoods.

1. Plan now for a fall series of meetings when election issues and candidates can be thoroughly considered. SOCIAL PROGRESS copies are handy texts. Some churches may schedule citizenship discussions during church school periods on Sunday mornings as a new and important aspect of the nurture of the laity. Others will experiment with neighborhood meetings where people can meet precinct leaders and committeemen.

The series might include:

→ Discussion and review of General Assembly deliverances.

→ Meeting with Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress, with a political scientist as moderator and commentator.

→ Debate on the campaign platforms of the two parties.

→ Open meeting with the mayor of the town when he has a chance to speak frankly on the needs of the people as he sees them.

→ Panel of three or four foreign students who can speak to questions of U.S. foreign policy.

→ Symposium on the most important domestic and international issues as viewed by two political scientists followed by questions directed to them by two members of the SEA committee of presbytery.

→ A review and discussion of the biographies and records of the presidential candidates.

2. Bring together as a planning and steering committee members of the congregation who have particular interest in public affairs—lawyers, judges, social workers, members of city councils and school boards, Leagues of Women Voters, World Affairs Councils. They have an important ministry in the civil order, and are often not challenged in the local church in their particular competence.

3. Attend a political rally and discuss the happenings with friends.

4. Feature reviews and displays of books and periodicals about politics and political questions in regular meetings of church groups. Make it easy for people to get exposed to challenging ideas.

5. Arrange field trips to local city or township council meetings, the office of state officials, and to the United Nations.

6. Urge your minister to preach on faith and politics, encouraging church members to support the candidate of their choice, to enroll as volunteers in his headquarters.

In the Churches

Elder George T. Wilkins, Synod of Illinois, a superintendent of public instruction, has issued a statement encouraging classroom instruction on alcohol and listing some goals to be emphasized and pitfalls to be avoided. In part: "It is not [the teacher's] responsibility to decide what the students' choice is to be . . . [but] to teach young people to do orderly thinking; to give evidence of respect for their youth; and, through an analytical attitude toward facts, consequences, and pressures on self and society, to arrive at an unassailable decision."

Marked copies of February SOCIAL PROGRESS, "Racial Intermarriage—A Symposium," have found their way, unsolicited, into the hands of commissioners to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S. through the efforts of an unknown self-styled benefactor.

Reliable sources have informed SOCIAL PROGRESS that the General Assembly commissioners received copies in packets postmarked "Philadelphia." The sender was not identified. On the front of each copy, rubber stamped in red ink is this message: "This upcoming General Assembly is being overtured to take steps to unite with the United (Northern) Presbyterian Church. Herewith is a publication of an official agency of that church."

Some indication as to whether the purposes for which the copies have been circularized would be achieved may be found in the responses received from the recipients, all of which have been commendatory. One correspondent writes: "Thought your recent issue 'Racial Intermarriage—A Symposium' very helpful. . . . Two of my ministerial friends . . . took the address of your magazine, and I presumed from their interest they wanted to subscribe."

The Springdale, Ohio, Presbyterian Church has distributed to each of the 925 homes in the newly incorporated village a pamphlet entitled *Who's Who in the Springdale Election.*

The pamphlet contains candidates' replies to this question: "What do you think is Springdale's most pressing problem?" and interpretive material about the proposed tax levy for the local school board.

Biographies include candidates' occupation, education, academic honors, record of military service, positions of leadership held in community affairs, organizational affiliations, previous government experience, other pertinent experience, and "participation in a religious body."

The minister, Rev. Richard W. Bauer, has written:

"Nothing we have done in the five years of my ministry here has made the community more aware of our ancient church (founded 1792) as has this project. The church and its moderating, ethical influence has permeated the election scene in an almost mystical fashion. Contrary to

what might be expected, it has erased the religious issue which the national primary had imposed upon this village election. The most ardent praiser of the pamphlet is one of the Roman Catholic candidates. Even the head of a Roman Catholic seminary, which we inadvertently overlooked in our distribution, has made a request for copies. As yet we have had not one word from anyone saying, 'Why doesn't the church keep its nose out, etc.' "

An Interfaith Fair Housing Project to serve the Greater Minneapolis area has been launched by representatives of various Protestant churches of Greater Minneapolis, the Church Federation, the Roman Catholic, and the Jewish religious communities. The project has a full-time executive director and a social science consultant.

Program activities are designed specifically to change the climate of opinion so that residential dispersion becomes a reality in Greater Minneapolis. These activities include: (1) opening closed neighborhoods, (2) stabilizing changing neighbors, (3) educating the community regarding the detriments of a segregated society.

This is a pioneer movement—the first of its kind in the country. The increasing number of houses available in closed communities to minorities and the increasing individual, church, synagogue participation seem to indicate the program is experiencing success. The movement is spreading. Other U.S. cities (Syracuse and Binghamton) are beginning to organize similar Interfaith Fair Housing Programs. We would urge support and co-operation with this worth-while enterprise.

Looking for a good way to share your ideas? The importance of letters-to-the-editor of newspapers has recently been highlighted by the Social Education and Action Committee, Presbytery of San Francisco.

Reader surveys show that these letters are among the best read features of a newspaper. A paper listing suggestions which can help in writing the kind of letter most likely to receive favorable consideration has been distributed to churches of the presbytery.

Briefly stated the suggestions are: (1) Type double-spaced on one side of the paper. (2) Express your thought as clearly and concisely as possible. (3) Deal with just one topic in a letter. (4) Plan your first sentence carefully, making it short and interesting. (5) If you write to criticize, begin with a word of appreciation, agreement, or praise. (6) Don't use violent language. (7) Help supply the truth. (8) Use personal experience to illustrate your point. (9) Bring moral judgments to bear upon the issues. (10) Send your letter to papers in other cities. (11) Always sign your name and give your address. (12) Don't give up looking for your letter too soon.

Dear Sir:

Please enroll me as a subscriber. I am eighty-two (nearly) so may not be with you long, but have three live daughters and four grandkids to date. Be sure to begin with your "hot potato" February issue if you have any left, as mentioned in March *Crisis,* page 143.

I married a Chinese doctor in 1929. She feeds me now, so I am not exactly neutral.

If I don't pay up, count me out. Have never seen a copy of your magazine. Go to a Negro Baptist Church now.

With thanks and all good wishes. You'll do.

—R. Paul Montgomery
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:

The February SOCIAL PROGRESS was handled in a dignified fashion as well as being informative. We at Brotherhood will be using its contents for future examination and study. Intermarriage pro and con is not only becoming a real topic of discussion throughout our congregation but throughout the Christian church. The fact it is being discussed shows progress toward the oneness in Christ.

Our pulpit as well as our congregation is integrated. We are seeking all the information that we can get on the Covenant of Open Occupancy for future study and presentations inside and outside our Wichita Presbytery.

—J. J. Robinson
Wichita, Kansas

Dear Sir:

John B. Danis says, "Why didn't we have an article [in the February issue on racial intermarriage] from a Presbyterian minister who has an interracial marriage in his congregation?" It might have helped. I doubt it.

However, I am sure such articles could have easily been secured. I, for one, am pastor of a church with an interracial (Negro-white) marriage in the congregation. Further, our local church has Oriental, Negro, Hungarian, and a hundred "dux mixtures" which are so blandly accepted in our society. We have or have recently had marriages of Mexican-French, Indonesian-Dutch, Chinese-"Dux Mixture" and what have you. In each of two months last fall we welcomed new members from three races.

Our first Negro member had a white wife with whom he had had two handsome children. This man has taught in the church school, ushered at worship, and attended National Men's Council.

I am not about to say that this has been accomplished like "falling off a log," nor that everyone liked it when it happened. Not everyone likes it yet. I do not honestly anticipate a day when everyone here will be happy about the all-inclusive church. We are a normal congregation of Presbyterians among whom there

are a few who believe that this is according to God's will. We lost an elder over accepting the Negro-white couple. We also lost a $3,500 annual contribution.

It can happen without the roof falling in. There have been many compensating gains for the losses we have sustained.

What about the Negro-white couple with two children? They have their problems. People watch them for slippage. Some hope the marriage will fail. Others pray it will not. I assume there are pressures on these folks which none of us knows about or would fully appreciate. I assume that there are personality problems inside the home—just like there are in all the families we have! We are a congregation of saints (sinners who keep on trying). Nowhere is our stumbling as universal as inside our homes. We should not expect it to be otherwise just because a marriage is racially mixed.

We've all heard it said: "But, think of the children. They are the ones to be pitied." I'm not so sure. At least the other little children here treat them well. And, thank God, the two children seem to have more than their share of intelligence. They will have problems and they will take care of them. The world will be better as these people meet and surmount their problems and as congregations of Christians express the courage of their convictions by accepting them as fellow human beings.

Such a long letter. Sorry. This concerns the world's number one problem to which we must apply the number one solution—the Christian way.

—Jay M. Logan
Decatur, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Whatever happened to moderation? When the race problem first became acute in American history, extremists (on both sides) pushed the country into the tragic Civil War. Half a century later other extremists took over the temperance movement and put over total prohibition, something of a tragedy itself. The February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS on "Racial Intermarriage" may not end in a Shiloh or Antietam or usher in the lawlessness of the twenties, but it is building up pressure in the Presbyterian Church that is bound to blow up. Issue after issue reflects the extreme left-wing position on every subject discussed.

The February number reflects an unusually extreme view on the race problem. I believe the participants in your supposedly representative panel of (1) ministers, (2) social workers, and (3) members of your own committee generally ignore common sense and normal parental feeling. I cannot believe that any of them, Negro or white, really favor a marriage that is impossible in our day or in the foreseeable future.

I am well aware that much of what is called "the moderate approach to race relations" actually represents a policy of stalling. A really moderate approach, on the other hand, is the only way social progress is ever made. Radical changes inevitably lead to revolution and disaster. Three or four weeks ago we took our

high school fellowship (of which we are sponsors) to a Negro church. After worship we remained for coffee and had a thoroughly fine visit. The youngsters were impressed and delighted. But some could not come because their parents were violently opposed to the trip. So we run into extremists (if not advocacy) of Negro-white intermarriage.

We have worked hard to rear our nine children without racial, creedal, or social prejudice. Our eldest daughter and her fiancé are political science majors in a Presbyterian school. These youngsters are well aware that liberals are powerfully entrenched in the Presbyterian church and other old-line denominations. They are beginning to sense that conservatives are outcasts and strangers in their own church. They want to know where the conservative belongs—and we don't know what to tell them.

A house divided against itself cannot stand.

—Frederic Speer, M.D.
Kansas City, Kansas

Dear Sir:

We were very gratified to see the publication of "A Statement Concerning the Use of the Means of Mass Extermination in the Waging of War" signed by members of the faculty of the Theological Seminary of the University of Dubuque. We commend you for bringing this crucial issue before the church in the March issue.

However, it was stated in SOCIAL PROGRESS that "the faculty has developed" this document. Actually it was drawn up by seven individuals who are members of the faculty. The others declined to sign it. The signatories have no desire to give the impression that their nonsigning colleagues, or the faculty as a whole, are responsible. We therefore wish you would carry this correction in the next issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

David I. Berger
Donald G. Bloesch
Arthur C. Cochrane
George B. Ehlhardt
Robert M. Healey
Joseph L. Mihelic
C. Howard Wallace

Dear Sir:

In the March, 1960, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS there is a statement on mass extermination (pages 36–37). The preface to the statement says it is "a recent communication from the faculty of the Theological Seminary, University of Dubuque, Iowa."

Actually, this is not a statement of the faculty of the above institution. It was formulated and signed by some of the faculty members. They are speaking for themselves.

We who did not sign the statement were constrained because we could not agree to some of its sections. However, we gave our brethren encouragement in their releasing it to the public as a private statement. They are to be commended for their courage and their convictions, and we who did not sign it defend their right to make the statement. I believe it is about time that the church take seriously the threat of mass extermination.

—William G. Jamison
Dubuque, Iowa

Dear Sir:

Your March issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS invited comments on a statement advocating unconditional repudiation by our Government of the use of "mass extermination" as a means of waging war.

I do not for one moment question the sincerity of the people who prepared this statement. However, I am equally convinced that the policy they advocate is unwise and contrary to the obligation we owe to our country, to the free world, and to the true purpose of a God who values the free spirit of his people.

No one in his right mind can feel anything but horror at the cruelties of war, whether it is waged with rifles, machine guns, or atom bombs. Nevertheless, as much as we may abhor the thought of mass slaughter brought on by modern weapons, there are other alternatives that are surely even worse—such as mass slavery and the mass destruction of the human spirit.

I believe that most Americans, and indeed, most God-fearing men everywhere, want our country to work unceasingly for a universal rule of law, for a strong United Nations, and for an effective means of limiting all armaments to those required to keep the peace. But to invite attack by the unilateral repudiation of the modern weapons required for defense as well as attack can only mean the craven surrender of our responsibilities to our own people, and to the millions of others who look to us for leadership under God.

We are in the midst of a great world struggle for men's minds between responsible freedom and dignity of the individual on the one hand, and the ruthless dictatorship of a godless communism on the other.

Many of us . . . would feel more confidence in the wise guidance of some of those who speak for the church, if they would try to be more sympathetic—and even grateful—toward our Government's efforts to discharge its almost frightening responsibility to be able at all times to defend our country in case of attack.

—Frank S. Estill
Glenwood Landing, New York

Dear Sir:

The article "What Is a Responsible Press?" in the March issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, by Robert H. Estabrook, is very interesting and revealing. He deserves a hearty commendation for his frank and fearless analysis of the subject. It must have taken a lot of courage to say the things he has said about the behind-the-scene action of the press. May God give us more men of the press—men like him.

The second article, "Forty Newspapers and What's in Them," was disappointing. After reading and considering the time, money, and energy consumed in checking the forty papers—all I could say was "So what?" It takes an expert to analyze the chart made of the findings. In the last analysis what does it mean to the average reader?

Keep up the good work.

—William Ohan
Chicago, Illinois

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